

thousands of jobs. Jack Kilby's 1959 patent for the semiconductor is an example of that, as well as Steve Wozniak's patent for a personal computer in 1979. So it is impossible to predict how many new jobs or even industries may lie buried within the Patent Office backlog, but there are thousands of backlogged patent applications there that we have to dispose of. I hope we can work toward getting this done.

We have issues the Republican leader and I have worked on to move forward, and the first issue at hand that deals with funding the government is the CR. We are looking to try to figure out a way to do the short-term CR. The President has said—and we will hear this from him rather than from us—that we can't continue to have these short-term CRs, so we are working to see if we can find a way of funding the government in the foreseeable future. The way that is going to be done is on a bipartisan basis. We hope that will be the case. No one benefits from a shutdown of the government, partial or otherwise.

I look forward to our work on this bill. Until we have something to work on—the House is going to pass a short-term CR today. Until we actually have something to work on, we need to focus our attention on this patent bill which is so very important. I have introduced a revenue measure that we could work off of. We also have—and I just rule XIV'd—a second reading on a matter for the continuing resolution. It is H.R. 1, the one that comes from the House. I think it is pretty clear that won't pass, but it shows we are trying to move forward. The House is going to act on something today. I have placed my revenue measure on the floor, indicating to the Republican leader my intentions of moving forward on that. So it is important that we work together to get this done. The current funding for the government runs out this Friday.

I look forward to everyone working hard on the patent bill. When we are in a position to move forward on funding the government past March 4, we will move forward on that just as rapidly as we can, and we know we have to do it this week.

RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader is recognized.

PLAYING BY THE RULES

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, later today the House of Representatives will take an important vote. At bottom, it is a vote on whether lawmakers in Washington should continue to be exempt from the rules.

Over the past 2 years, millions of Americans have lost jobs and homes. Tragically, many have stopped looking for work altogether. They think the

situation won't improve. When one considers how Democrats in Washington have responded to this historic jobs crisis, it is no wonder. For 2 years, Democrats in Washington have pushed one proposal after another that has kept the economy from growing and stifled the creation of good private sector jobs. They have tried to tax energy consumption. They have picked winners and losers in industry. They have handcuffed small business owners with a mountain of stifling regulations, including a health care bill that non-partisan experts predict could lead to hundreds of thousands of more lost jobs. Earlier this month, at a time when economists say rising gas prices could delay an economic recovery even longer, Democrats proposed—get this—a change in the current tax laws that would amount to a new tax on everyone who drives a car or truck in America—a minivan tax.

While the American people have been begging lawmakers to remove the burdens of government so they can do the work of growing the economy and creating private sector jobs, Democrats in Washington have been focused single-mindedly on growing government instead. In order to do it, they have basically exempted themselves from the rules. They have said that while the rest of the country has had to tighten its belt in a down economy, Washington can continue on its spending binge in order to grow the government. They have said that while American families have had to pay off their credit cards, Washington can continue to rack up debt. They have said that while most Americans struggle to make ends meet, they don't have to. That is what this afternoon's vote in the House is all about.

This bill should not be controversial. It has only become controversial because Democratic leaders in Congress have resisted every effort—every effort—to rein in their spending bills. This bill proposes to cut spending for the next 2 weeks by \$4 billion, and they have fought it tooth and nail. They refuse to admit that Washington has a spending problem. But the verdict is in. For 2 years, Democrats in Washington have spent trillions more than we had in the Treasury. And if expanding the size and scope of government was the goal, it was a big success. But if helping the economy and helping people find jobs was the goal, it has been a disaster. What has \$3 trillion more in debt gotten us? Three million more lost jobs.

Tonight's vote is an opportunity for House Democrats to admit the status quo isn't working. It is a chance to take a small first step toward growing the economy and helping create jobs. Then, later this week, Democrats in the Senate will have the same opportunity to show that they get it. Americans are watching. They want us to acknowledge that we need to play by the same rules they do. They want us to tighten our belts, too, and show we are in this together.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business for 1 hour, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, with the time equally divided and controlled between the two leaders or their designees, with the majority controlling the first half and the Republicans controlling the final half.

The Senator from California.

ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much. Senator REID has told me I have 30 minutes, so I will start that at this time.

We are in a very difficult time right now because we are getting out of the deepest recession since the Great Depression. If we go back and look at the headlines when our President was inaugurated, we see the pace of job loss and we see what happened to credit and we see what happened to the auto industry and we see what happened to the stock market—we eventually lost about 50 percent from its highs. We are now in a situation where we have this economic recovery starting, but the jobs are not coming as fast as we want.

We don't want to do anything which threatens that economic recovery, which threatens our families and threatens the middle class. This is not the time to hurt the middle class. What we see in Wisconsin is the middle class finally saying to the Governor there: Look, be fair to us. We are willing to give up pay, we are willing to pay more for our benefits, but don't destroy our ability to have a say in our lives.

So as this economic recovery plays out, we have to deal with deficits that have come about because of this terrible recession, fewer revenues coming in to the Federal Government, more people calling on programs to help them with unemployment insurance and food stamps and things they need to stay alive. We have to deal with our deficit, there is no question about that. We have to do it like grownups. We

have to do it with common sense. We don't want to take a meat ax to this recovery and wind up losing jobs, jobs, jobs.

This last election was all about jobs. I was out there, so I can tell you. My Republican opponent, every day, said: Senator BOXER, where are the jobs? Where are the jobs? That was a legitimate question. I answered it this way: It is taking too long to get these jobs back where they should be, but I am going to fight every day for jobs. When I see a proposal that will threaten jobs, I am going to talk about it.

I am going to get to the Republican proposal for the rest of this year, the 2011 budget proposal, which experts such as Mark Zandi, a Republican expert who advised Republican candidates—he advised JOHN MCCAIN. He said, as well as Goldman Sachs, that if you pass the Republican budget plan, you endanger 700,000 jobs. So what do we do? We have to cut spending, yes. We have to do it wisely. We have to sit together and discuss it, not say: My way or the highway; here is the bill, don't talk to me.

I think it is important, as we hear the majority leader address his comments to the Democratic side, to address some comments to the Republican side. When George Bush was elected President, President Bill Clinton handed him a \$236 billion budget surplus. I am proud to say I served at that time, and I voted for the Democratic budget, the Clinton budget. What did it accomplish? Quite a bit. Not only a balanced budget but a surplus. There were those on the other side calling for an amendment to the Constitution for a balanced budget. We said: We don't need an amendment; we just need to balance the budget in a wise way, and we did it. We cut out unnecessary spending, but we invested where it created jobs. Guess what. We said to the upper income people of \$1 million or more: You have to pay your fair share. They were willing and able to do it, and we created not only surpluses in the Federal Government but 23 million new jobs.

Let me say that again. We created a surplus—not only a balanced budget surplus but 23 million new jobs. Now the Republicans take over, and when George Bush leaves office, he created 1 million jobs in 8 years, compared to 23 million. Guess what. He left us a \$1.3 trillion deficit. I say to my friends here, he left the wars off budget, so it was even way higher than that. He didn't put the two wars on the budget.

President Obama, last year, created more jobs than George Bush did. President Obama created, in 2010, 1.1 million new jobs. So the new jobs under President Obama in 2010 equal the net jobs of George Bush after 8 years. President Obama inherited a \$1.3 trillion deficit from George Bush, who created that from a surplus. It is important we follow this. George Bush created 1 million jobs net compared to 23 million jobs under Bill Clinton, and President

Obama inherited the worst recession since the Great Depression—700,000 jobs a month lost, panic on Wall Street, you name it, the auto industry going out. We would have been the only leader in the industrialized world not to have an auto industry.

It is fair to say things have stabilized. The auto industry had the best year in a long time. The money we loaned to the banks has been paid back. But we have more to do. The deficit is up to \$1.6 trillion now because the wars are now on the budget, because we still haven't made up for the revenues we lost, and the jobs are coming back too slowly.

This is where we stand. We have to pass a budget for the remainder of this year, and Democrats are saying let's do it wisely. We will cut, cut, cut, and we have a list of cuts we can go over. We cut \$40 billion from the President's 2011 budget. The Republicans cut \$100 billion from the President's budget. So, surely, between the 40 we cut and the \$100 billion they cut, we can meet and solve this problem. I would like us to do it right now—sit down in good faith and get it done and scratch any of the cuts that hurt our children, scratch the cuts that hurt our women's health, scratch the cuts that are essentially political—I will go into those later—and come up with the cuts that don't threaten hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Here is the deal. There is still talk and fear about a government shutdown. Every time we think we have passed the point, there comes another article. Today in the Washington Post there is this article. I ask unanimous consent to have this printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 1, 2011]
WITH GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN LOOMING,
FRESHMEN ARE THE WILD CARDS
(By David A. Farenthold and Philip Rucker)

In just two months, a freshman class of Republicans has found a way to run the House.

These 87 new members—who otherwise might have become foot soldiers for party bosses, or jittery pawns of their home-town tea party groups—have instead coalesced into a bloc with its own ideas and a headstrong sense of its muscle.

As Republicans and Democrats try to cut a short-term budget deal this week—and a more permanent one in coming weeks—the freshmen are the wild card. They have the power to derail the whole process. Again.

But even their own leaders don't know if they will.

The freshmen's willingness to do things their way stems from their hyper-confident vision of themselves, revealed in interviews in recent days with more than 30 members of the group. Many described their job as a "calling," a sense that their grandchildren, their country or their God needed them to make hard decisions to right the government's finances.

"We may be the last opportunity," said Rep. Michael G. Grimm (N.Y.), a former FBI agent.

But now, the difficult part.

In the escalating budget fight—and other battles to come—the freshmen will face the

capital's hardest kind of decision: how to compromise on the issue they care about the most.

How much ground will the freshmen give before they defy the Senate and risk a government shutdown?

"I don't know," Rep. Joe Walsh (Ill.) said when asked how the newcomers would react if the Democratic-controlled Senate offered a spending bill with fewer cuts than theirs. "I don't know. I don't know. And I think most freshmen don't know."

This class of Republican freshmen—the largest for either party in at least six decades—includes nine women and 78 men. Their views are not all the same: Some have called for a more nuanced approach to spending cuts, while others have insisted that the House's bare-bones budget was not bare enough.

Many can recount the moment they realized they were mad enough to run for Congress.

Rep. Alan Nunnelee (Miss.) said that he was happy as a state legislator, and that he had resisted previous efforts to draft him as a candidate. Then, on March 27, 2009, he learned he was going to be a grandfather.

"What I saw happening in Washington really was endangering the freedom" his new grandson would have, Nunnelee said. "I had a moral obligation to do something about it."

Rep. Blake Farenthold (Tex.) was a talk-radio host, one of more than three dozen freshmen who had never held an elected office.

"I really feel like I was called to run for office at this time," he said. "A whole bunch of things all came together at once. . . . I can't credit that to anything but divine intervention."

With that kind of back story, the freshmen said they wouldn't play the role of Congress's rookies. Instead of being taught by longtime lawmakers, many said, they wanted to teach.

"When you say, 'We need to listen to the American people,' that's us," said Rep. Kevin Yoder (Kan.), a former state legislator.

This group—which represents about one-third of the Republicans in the House—showed its muscle last month, in a series of private meetings with House Speaker John A. Boehner (Ohio) and other GOP leaders.

At issue was how deep to cut spending in a "continuing resolution" to fund the government for the remaining seven months of this fiscal year. During the midterm campaign, Republicans had pledged to cut \$100 billion over a year.

But the leadership presented a number equal to seven-twelfths of \$100 billion.

The math worked. But, freshmen say, the politics didn't.

"We felt like we told the people that we would do \$100 billion," said Rep. Trey Gowdy (S.C.), a former prosecutor. "And when you start using the words 'pro-rata' or 'There's seven months left in the budget'—as a prosecutor, when you're explaining, you're losing."

The leadership agreed, without much of a fight, and went back to make additional reductions. In Congress's world of tradition and seniority, the tail had officially wagged the dog.

But from here on out, it will be harder to be Congress's heroes.

Many of the freshmen say they want to consider changes to Medicare, Social Security and other entitlement programs, which have been political land mines in the past. And Senate Democrats and the White House probably will stop many of their proposals cold.

"We may not make it. Honestly. It may blow up in our face as well," said Rep. James

Lankford (Okla.), who previously directed a Christian youth camp. "At some point, somebody's going to stand up and say, 'We cannot keep doing this.'"

This is a key part of the story the freshmen tell about themselves: that they don't mind turning some people off, or even losing reelection.

"I cannot tell you how liberating it is," Gowdy said. "The job just doesn't mean that much to me. I'm loyal to my word, and in the end I think that's what I'll be judged on."

But the election is still 21 months away. In that time, historians say, the freshmen will find it more and more difficult to hold on to their sense of exceptionalism—that they can be in Washington, but not of it.

"Their principal vulnerability is that—having been elected—they will be seen as politicians. No matter what. By definition, they are politicians," said Ross K. Baker of Rutgers University. Baker said that means making complicated decisions that are hard to explain to voters.

"The alternative, of course, is to be voices in the wilderness," Baker said—uncompromised, but also irrelevant.

But the fallout from their hard decisions will not come just at the election.

Last week, as freshmen went home to their districts for town hall meetings, Rep. Robert T. Schilling (Ill.) could already feel it in the pit of his stomach.

"He who turns a blind eye will get many a curse," said an angry Clara Caldwell, 81, quoting Proverbs at Schilling's town hall meeting in Moline, Ill. She was criticizing him for voting to cut funding for Head Start programs.

Last year, Schilling was making pies at Saint Giuseppe's Heavenly Pizza, the restaurant he owns just a few blocks away. On this night, he received applause and criticism from a standing-room crowd. Schilling tried reasoning with the critics: "Lots of people say, 'We need cuts.' But everybody in the room says, 'Don't cut my stuff.'"

He tried conciliation, on the subject of an Amtrak project in the district, which he'd voted to cut. "The Amtrak will probably end up happening someday," Schilling said.

And he tried, in a quiet way, to ask for sympathy. "The stress that's out there is just unbelievable," he said, meaning in Washington.

It isn't just in Washington. "Your stomach kind of knots. Your mouth's dry. I went through a whole bottle of water in there," Schilling said after the town hall meeting, walking to his car. Good to get used to it, he said. "It's not going to get any better. We're on a mission."

Mrs. BOXER. It says this on the front page: "With shutdown looming, GOP freshmen are wild cards." When you ask the Republican Members of the House where this is going, they say they don't know. The government could shut down; we don't know. Later, I will go into what happened the last time the government shut down. I will not do that at this moment.

I talked to Senator CASEY, my good colleague and a great leader in the Senate, about an anomaly in the law that protects Members of Congress from getting their pay shut down in the case of a government shutdown, when the vast majority of Federal workers will not get paid. He and I agree there is something wrong with this system. It is not fair. If we fail to keep this government operating, which is our basic responsibility, to keep the

checks flowing to Social Security recipients, to veterans with disabilities, to make sure we don't harm the private sector contractors and workers—if we don't do that, we don't deserve to get our pay.

We put together a bill that says, in the case of a government shutdown, Members of Congress and the President must be treated the same way as other Federal employees—and, by the way, not get back our pay retroactively. It touched a chord with several colleagues. We have the bill written, and we have sent it to the Republican side and the Democratic side. My understanding is, it has passed the Democratic side via hotline, and the Republicans are looking at it now. The cosponsors are Senators BOXER, CASEY, MANCHIN, TESTER, NELSON of Nebraska, BENNET, WARNER, WYDEN, COONS, HARKIN, HAGAN, MENENDEZ, STABENOW, MERKLEY, and ROCKEFELLER.

We feel we have the support of the people. We are hopeful we will avert a government shutdown because it is bad for our country, bad for our families, bad for our States, and there is no need to have one. But if we do have one, we don't want to have Members of Congress go home, get their pay, and not even have to pay a price or sacrifice or anything else while other families are sacrificing. We hope our Republican friends will agree with us and, if they do, we are going to send it over tonight. We are not asking unanimous consent now, but we will at 4 o'clock. If they can go forward, we will send this over to Speaker BOEHNER in the hopes it will breeze through the House.

In case of a government shutdown, which we hope will be averted, we hope we are treated the same as Federal employees and that we are not getting our paychecks when others are not.

With that, I will yield the floor to Senator CASEY for as long as he would like.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. CASEY. Madam President, I wish to take a couple moments to express my gratitude, and I think people across the country—if we can get this done—will express their gratitude as well. At a time when the economy is still recovering—and there is good news that the recovery is moving at a faster rate than it was 1 year ago or certainly than 6 months ago. I wish to talk about that for a moment.

I express my gratitude to Senator BOXER for her leadership on this issue. All we are saying together—as she did in the mid-1990s, when this came up at the time of that shutdown—is, Members of Congress have to play by the same rules as everyone else who depends upon the Federal Government for a program or their pay; that we will play by the same rules. I commend Senator BOXER for her leadership, as she demonstrated all those years ago, when at the time it passed, but it was taken out in a conference committee. I

believe, if Members of Congress are going to be deciding whether the government continues to operate or whether it shuts down, they have to play by the same set of rules.

I mentioned the economy because this has a direct connection to why we are discussing this today. We have, as I said, a recovering economy. In Pennsylvania, there is data to show that. I know in California the unemployment rate has been high. It was high for a long period of time in Pennsylvania. It is still high but, in a relative sense, lower than a lot of places. We are at 8.5 percent in our State. That translates into 538,000 people out of work, which is an incredibly high number. I will say this. That number was higher this past summer. We were approaching 600,000 people out of work. We were below 540,000 at last count. I hope we are still moving in that direction when we see the monthly numbers again.

We have a recovering economy. We also have very high deficits and debt. The American people are worried about that, justifiably. I have no doubt that when we continue to work together in the Senate—and I hope it happens in the House as well—we can come to a consensus about the 2011 budget, which is where most of the attention is now, and the 2012 budget but also, longer term, about how we pay for essential services, create jobs, and reduce deficit and debt.

Along the way, if Members of Congress are going to vote for a shutdown, they should not be paid their salary while that shutdown is in effect. It is about basic values such as accountability, not having one set of rules for Members of Congress and another set of rules for the American people. It is also about playing by the rules. We have to play by the same rules that we vote to attach to what happens in the Federal Government. Finally, I think it is about restoring or beginning to restore some of the basic trust we hope the American people will have in their government. That trust, that faith that keeps our democracy together, can be badly broken if we have Members of Congress who vote for a shutdown but are still getting their pay after the shutdown is in effect.

Finally, it is about a basic value called fairness. People expect us to be fair. We cannot say to the American people that a Member of Congress is voting to shut down the government, with all the implications of that and the instability that would create, but then in the same breath say we still want to get the pay we have as Federal employees. So it is good accountability, trust, and fairness.

I commend Senator BOXER for, once again, showing the leadership she demonstrated in the mid-1990s on this issue and again making it very clear we are going to do everything we can to live by the same rules. If there is a shutdown, our pay should be shut down.

With that, I yield the floor.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, how much time remains?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Twelve minutes 45 seconds remain.

Mrs. BOXER. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania for working hard on this piece of legislation. It is very simple.

No budget, no pay. That is it. We cannot have no function of government more important than passing a budget and keeping us going. The people have a right to expect that we will do our work.

Social Security checks, if there is a shutdown, may not arrive on time. Veterans may not receive the benefits they have earned. Passports may not be issued. Superfund sites will not be cleaned up, and those are dangerous. Oil wells should be inspected. We see what happens when we do not do the functions of government; we pay, our people pay. Export licenses must be granted. Troops must be paid. Failing to keep the government open because of politics or because no one wants to listen to the other side and meet in the middle is a failure. All we are saying is treat Members of Congress and the President the same as other Federal employees. And no retroactive, back pay either.

The bigger issue is the one I touched on; that is, what is the right way to approach this deficit problem. Clearly, we have to do it responsibly. Clearly, the American people want us to reduce this deficit. I want to reduce it. I have to say very proudly, not only did we reduce it under Bill Clinton but we had surpluses. This is the only time we ever had a surplus—a Democratic administration. OK? That is it. I do not need lectures from the other side of the aisle. Show me a time when they balanced the budget. They do not have one to show me.

They can show me the record under George W. Bush and George Herbert Walker Bush: deficits, deficits, deficits, deficits. And under George Bush, job losses. Over the entire 8 years, there were 1 million net new jobs compared to 23 million under Bill Clinton. What a record.

Let's do this the way we know it should be done, which is a balanced approach. Cut spending where it is wasteful, where it is useless, where it is dumb to spend money. Spend it where it makes sense—on our kids.

The things my colleagues in the House did without one Democratic vote are shocking. The experts tell us we could lose between 700,000 and 1 million jobs—between 700,000 and 1 million jobs—if we go with their package. They need to sit and talk with us. Let's reason together.

They cut \$100 billion off the President's budget. We have already cut \$40 billion. Let's meet in the middle. But let's not threaten as many as 1 million jobs.

Moody's estimates their budget would destroy 700,000 jobs. Goldman Sachs says their plan would cut economic growth by as much as 2 percent

by the end of the year. It is inconceivable, after they ran around in this last election saying: Where are the jobs? Where are the jobs?—that is all I heard. And it was a good point. But it is inconceivable they would turn their backs on jobs and now focus on the deficit as if that is the only issue we have to worry about.

Again, when President Obama took office, the economy was heading off a cliff. I will never forget the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, Hank Paulson, looking straight in my eyes—and that was hard because he is 7 feet tall and I am a little under 5 feet; he is not 7 feet tall, but to me he looks like 7 feet tall—and saying: Senator, capitalism is on the brink of collapse. We may see the collapse of capitalism.

I remember back to the debates when one of my Republican colleagues suggested nationalizing the banks. President Obama said: No, we are not going there. We are going to have to figure out a way. Yes, we did lend them money and it was an awful vote and I hated every minute of it. The banks paid back every penny.

The auto industry—oh, my colleagues said, we cannot help the auto industry. Oh, yes, we did. We did not want to be the only Western Power that did not have an automobile industry. It is important to our national defense. We stabilized the auto industry, we have stabilized the financial industry, we approved tax cuts for the middle class, and we made investments in infrastructure.

Yes, it is true, George Bush took a big surplus and turned it into a \$1.3 trillion deficit. The deficit now is \$1.6 trillion as we struggle out of this economic mire and put the wars on the budget.

By the way, ending the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq over 10 years could get us \$1.1 trillion. I have not heard any of my Republican friends go there at all with that. We need to do that. They are just looking at one small part of the budget.

I have to tell you from my heart what I think they did over there. They cut \$100 billion off the President's budget. We cut \$41 billion off the President's budget. This is what they did: I believe they used deficit reduction as an excuse to carry out political vendettas against the Environmental Protection Agency. They not only took a meat axe to that budget, but they ordered the EPA—they said they cannot protect families from pollution from cement plants. They cannot do that. That means our people will be exposed to mercury. They said they cannot enforce the Clean Air Act when it comes to carbon pollution. Imagine, they do not dare just come here and say: Let's repeal the Clean Air Act. They go around the back door using the budget as a political vendetta tool.

They said: Let's stop our improvements in food safety. I have to say, not one person in my home State ever came up to me—I do not care if they

are Republican, Independent, or Democrat—and said: Senator, the two things I want when you get back is to give me dirty air and give me poisoned food. I need more contamination in my food.

I cannot believe this. We just did a great bill, and they slashed the money for food safety. Tell me how that makes America stronger. Tell me, when we know how many people die of illness from contaminated food.

They did a political vendetta against family planning, which is going to lead to more abortions if it goes through. It is not going to go through because we are not going to let them stop ensuring that American women in this day and age—they are not going to tell my people in California they cannot have access to contraception. Yet they cut every penny from Planned Parenthood in a clear, I believe, unconstitutional political vendetta.

Madam President, 5 million men and women get the services of Planned Parenthood. They get tested for STDs, AIDS, cancer screenings—all of that. And a lot of women use Planned Parenthood clinics as their first line of health care. This is 2011. We are not going back to the dark days when women died because they did not have health care. We cannot. We cannot do it.

Drop the political vendettas. Come to the table and let's find the cuts that make sense. Put a little more faith in your Democratic colleagues since we are the only ones who balanced the budget and created a surplus and 23 million jobs. I do not need to hear lectures about that. They can talk all they want. The last balanced budget was under Bill Clinton. The last surplus was under Bill Clinton. The last great economic growth was under Bill Clinton.

Our President gets it. That is why he tackles this deficit over a period of time and gets it down to \$600 billion by 2015. Maybe we can do more. I am ready to do more, and we will do more if we have an economic recovery. We will not if we lose another 1 million jobs and have another 1 million people getting help from us rather than having jobs and keeping their homes.

What other vendettas? This one, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Somebody said that 4 hours of the war in Afghanistan would be equal to the cut they made to public broadcasting—4 hours of the war in Afghanistan. America should be proud of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. We go toe to toe with the BBC. Great Britain funds 100 percent of the BBC. We fund 15 percent of public broadcasting. But now they want to zero it out. A vendetta against Elmo.

They have a vendetta against health reform. The President is right. In our bill we say the States can do another plan. Let's push that up to 2014. Do not go back to the days when 62 percent of all bankruptcies were linked to a health care crisis.

Madam President, how much time do I have remaining?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is 1 minute 45 seconds remaining.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, they have a vendetta against clean energy. I guess they want to keep dependence on foreign oil. I do not and my people do not. We do not enjoy \$5-a-gallon gas, which is where it is heading maybe because of the unrest in the Middle East. We need alternatives—clean cars, cars that go 50, 60 miles a gallon or do not need any gas at all. Oh, they cut that.

They cut Head Start. Our little kids will not have Head Start. What are they doing? It makes no sense. Every dollar we put into early childhood education saves \$10. What are they doing? And Pell grants.

There are so many other ways to proceed. Do you know, if we just looked at the tax loopholes given to corporations who ship jobs overseas, it is over \$140 billion over 10 years? Let's take a look at that. Let's take a look at the billionaires. Why do we have to ask little kids to give up a slot in Head Start and get that Head Start they need? Why do we have to ask our teenagers to give up on going to college? That is what their budget does for no reason at all.

Let's avert a government shutdown by coming together. I am willing to move in their direction. They have to be willing to move to mine. Again, they cut \$100 billion off the President's budget. We cut \$40 billion. Let's meet in the middle.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent for 30 more seconds, and then I will yield to my friend.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, in conclusion, let's meet in the middle. Let's put this 2011 budget issue behind us quickly. Let's move on to long-term deficit reduction and job creation. If we fail, let's not get paid for our work here.

This afternoon I will be back to ask unanimous consent: No budget, no pay. Madam President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, I appreciate the comments of my friend, the Senator from California. We have to be serious about the country's debt. Admiral Mullen, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says the debt is our biggest national security threat.

Anyone in my State who looks at what we are spending in Washington is astonished. We are spending, this year, \$3.7 trillion. We are collecting \$2.2 trillion. The House of Representatives has said: Let's take a step—a serious step—toward dealing with that debt. I applaud them for that. That number is a number that we on the Republican side try to support in the Senate. We might have our own priorities within that reduced number, but we need to get seri-

ous about the entire problem of America's debt.

It also goes directly to the problem of jobs we have in our country today. The last Democratic Congress and the President's policies have thrown a big wet blanket on private sector job creation in America. One of the biggest parts of the wet blanket is the big debt. According to economists, it costs us 1 million jobs a year. The big debt creates the potential for higher interest rates. That makes it harder to create jobs. It soaks up capital. It could be used to create jobs. It creates uncertainty. It creates a lack of confidence.

There is a lot of spirit in this Senate to find a consensus on how to deal with the debt. I want to be one who does that. I look forward to a serious discussion of those efforts.

A NEW MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, in Jerusalem last week during a private meeting with U.S. Senators, the Prime Minister of Israel suggested creating a new Marshall Plan to help the people of Middle Eastern countries who are struggling to gain more freedom. I was one of the Senators in that meeting.

In one important way, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's proposal is different from the plan that helped rebuild Western Europe after World War II. Its funding would not come from the U.S. Government but from private gifts and foundations worldwide. Instead of the money going for rebuilding bombed out industrial plants and roads as it did after World War II, it would more likely be spent in the Middle East now on schools, on health clinics, and on clean water.

Fundamentally, though, the plans are very similar. Both GEN George C. Marshall in 1947 and Prime Minister Netanyahu today proposed helping adversaries as well as allies. Both aim to relieve hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Both proposals are based squarely on self-interest, as antidotes to the spread of philosophies unfriendly to democracy: communism in the case of postwar Europe and militant Islam in the Middle East today.

In both cases, applicants for the money would write their own plans. In 1948, 16 nations met in Paris to develop the Marshall plan. President Truman then submitted it for approval to the Congress. Most of the money was distributed by grants that did not have to be repaid.

The first Marshall plan was short term, from 1948 to 1952, and so should be this new Marshall plan. The goal is not to create dependencies but to help people stand on their own.

There are some important differences between the idea of the Marshall plan after World War II and Prime Minister Netanyahu's proposal for the Middle East. The new Middle East Marshall plan would cost much less. The original

Marshall plan spent between \$115 billion and \$130 billion in today's dollars over those 4 years. If a Middle Eastern plan carefully distributed a few billion dollars over 5 years it could have an enormous impact.

The Marshall plan started out after World War II buying food and fuel and ended up rebuilding bombed-out industrial plants, roads, and other infrastructure. In addition to schools and clinics, a Middle Eastern Marshall plan is more likely to spend money on, for example, a corps of young people who are paid a subsistence wage to strengthen their own country.

Marshall plan money went to 16 European governments. Money for a Middle Eastern plan should probably be distributed through non-governmental organizations.

After World War II, there was a clear effort to impose on Europe and Japan the American model. We should have learned by now that the path to democracy in the Middle East is more likely to be uniquely Middle Eastern. The original Marshall plan was paid for mostly by United States taxpayers. Money for this new plan should come from around the world, mostly from private gifts.

The first Marshall plan was used mostly for purchase of goods from the United States. Today, those goods would be purchased from around the world.

What are the next steps? First, a coalition of foundations should step forward and announce its willingness to consider proposals from Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries that would assist a transition to a more democratic form of government.

Second, the first grants should be quickly approved, probably to non-governmental organizations already in place. The original Marshall plan moved slowly. In this age of instant communication, freedom fighters expect immediate results. Some evidence of improvement in their lives could help sustain a movement toward democracy against the lure of militant Islam.

An early State Department memorandum compared General Marshall's proposal to a flying saucer: "Nobody knows what it looks like, how big it is, or whether it really exists." Prime Minister Netanyahu's proposal also is usefully vague, with details to be filled in later by applicants for grants. But shouldn't it be enough simply to propose helping people struggling for freedom based upon the hard-eyed belief that their success will benefit other Democratic countries, including the United States and Israel?

TRIBUTE TO DAVID KEARNS

Mr. ALEXANDER. Madam President, in Rochester, NY, today and tomorrow, family and friends are celebrating the life of David Kearns, who died a few days ago at age 80.